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ABSTRACT

Although mutual collaboration has been favored by educational reformers of earlier periods, there has never been such a unanimous swing in different countries towards parent involvement as in the 1970's. Which objectives for home-school collaboration gain priority and how collaboration is organized depend to a large extent on national traditions, social stratifications, and ideological positions. Institutionalized cooperation is different in different European countries and the United States. All strategies are somehow deficient, since quite a cleavage exists between public expectations of and logistical support for the cooperation. Conceptual improvements in cooperation strategies are indisputably necessary. It is important to insure that (1) parent cooperation is looked upon as an ongoing process from the preschool to the primary school; (2) successful examples of alternative ways of collaboration are made accessible to parents and teachers; (3) inservice training concepts and training possibilities for parents, teachers, and administrators are developed; (4) more complex and longitudinal research is carried out comparing consequences of different cooperation strategies; and (5) a legal framework is developed, not only to guarantee information to parents and promote participation at all administrative levels, but also provide for the establishment of parent organizations and their participation in educational policy making. (Author/CB)

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PRIMARY EDUCATION

COOPERATION BETWEEN SCHOOL AND FAMILY
(Prerequisites - implementation - problems)

SUMMARY

At the primary school level close cooperation between home and school is regarded as indisputably necessary today.

Although mutual collaboration had even been favoured by educational reformers of earlier centuries and has repeatedly been en vogue in periods of social change (see Section I), there has never been such an unanimous swing in different countries towards parent involvement as in the 70ies. This trend was due to a coincidence of three overlapping factors: first, social unrest linked with demands for participatory democracy; second, new research results, which pointed to strong family influence on the child's socialization and learning process; and third, an upgrading of the value of the educative function of the family because of disappointment with educational bureaucracy and planning (see Section II).

Today the main objectives of home-school collaboration are almost everywhere: to promote the child's learning development and social well-being by a better fit of the two educational spheres, to stimulate the parents' educational and social competency through pedagogical information or participatory learning, to increase the schools' effectiveness, to counteract the remoteness of subjects out of touch with the child's experience, and to reduce the schools' social isolation.

Which objective gains priority and how collaboration is organized in view of it, depends to a large extent on national traditions, social stratifications and ideological positions (see Section III). On the one hand there are rather school and learning-dominated forms of parent involvement (e.g. to support reading), primarily so in centralized societies (e.g. USSR), or in societies with rather great social inequality (e.g. USA), which in the long run may devalue or undermine the educative function of the family. On the other hand there are concepts of collaboration, particularly in decentralized countries (e.g. Netherlands) and in situations where home and school functions overlap quite strongly (e.g. when school starts or where media and leisure education are concerned), which focus on more comprehensive, children-centred and participatory orientated collaboration between home and school (see Section IV and V). This approach appears to be of particular importance to bridge the gap between different educational and social attitudes of (ethnic, cultural or social) minorities and schools.

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All the different strategies are somehow deficient, since quite a cleavage exists between public expectations of and logistic support for the cooperation, and since parent participation involves unsolvable as well as unnecessary conflicts. So in order to avoid resistance from schools (e.g. in view of extra work or inadequate training) lack of parental engagement (e.g. because of little self-confidence or 'interest'), or unnecessary conflicts between home and school (e.g. because of insufficient administrative support or inadequate didactic planning), conceptual improvements in cooperation strategies (e.g. through consideration for context variables and stepwise increase in participation) are indisputably necessary (see Section VI).

But above all, if intensive cooperation is regarded as imperfect although essential at the primary school level, then it appeares to be of first-rate importance to ensure:

- that parent cooperation is looked upon as an ongoing process from the pre- to the primary school, is operated as a stepwise expansion of parent participation, and is organized with appreciation of the different educativ functions of home and school;

- that 'successful' examples of alternative ways of collaboration are made accessible to parents and teachers, which point to different strategies possible according to environmental conditions and needs of children, which explain side effects as well as problems arising in cooperation, and which stimulate a search for unbureaucratic means of collaboration taking account of parents' and teachers' capabilities;

- that in-service training concepts and training possibilities for parents, teachers, and administrators are developed to guarantee more understanding for the complementary functions of home and school, for the significance of participatory learning for adults, and for the special situations of disadvantaged children as well as minority families;

- that more complex and longitudinal research is carried out comparing consequences of different cooperation strategies with regard to their repercussions on child development, parents' attitudes towards education, school learning, and on a more holistic education which not only prepares the child for adult life but simultaneously increases his/her personal stability, 'identity', and ability to live a full life as a child;

- that a legal framework is developed in order to guarantee not only information to parents (e.g. access to school records) and participation at all administative levels, but also to make provision for the establishment of parent organizations and their participation in educational policy-making, since there can be no doubt, that their exertion of influence is at least as legitimate as that of professional or trade union organizations.

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All in all it has become quite clear from educational reforms in the 70ies, that educational policy can only be successful if parent participation is more than just supportive annex to professional planning.

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PRIMARY EDUCATION

COOPERATION BETWEEN SCHOOL AND FAMILY
(Prerequisites - implementation - problems)

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Summary

INTRODUCTION

In industrial societies 'primary education' is regarded as a **cooperative function** of home and school, with quite distinctive tasks of their own on both the sides. Perhaps it should even be regarded as a **tripartite process** - including the child as a third element -, in order to evade the misinterpretation that the child is nothing but a dependent variable 1) and education nothing but preparation for adult life. 2)

This cooperation is **indispensable** in order to protect the child from competitive and conflicting educational goals as well as behaviour, to avoid further disintegration and social isolation of both educational spheres, to counterbalance unfavourable social conditions mutually and to make education more effective.

Evidently, cooperation is all the more important **the younger the children** are, the more children are challenged by transition from one educational level to another, the stronger educational conflicts tend to be in periods of educational reform and social change.

Thus it is hardly surprising, that cooperation between home and school has been receiving great attention since the early 1970ies, that its importance has been stressed particularly for the **primary school level** and that it should be geared at one and the same time at the welfare of the child, at developing parental comprehension and competence in education, and at democratizing and humanizing the school.

But, in spite of the great consensus that close cooperation is needed, 3) quite **different perceptions** and traditions of cooperation exist within individual and between the European countries. What is expected from cooperation, how it is organized, if it is popular and where it leads to, all this depends quite strongly on the social as well as legal conditions under which it takes place.

In order to avoid an additive summary of national variations or a mere description of legal and organizational contact patterns - which neither help to understand the countries' differences nor the cooperation problems - the report discusses the need for cooperation, its difficulties and practical means in the following way:

- firstly, to what extent it depends on social, value and scientific concepts (section I and II);

- secondly, how it is practised in different nations and with what different intentions (section III and IV);

- and thirdly, why in future more partnership is needed although some conflicts are unavoidable (section V and VI).

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS TO COOPERATION

There have been great changes towards closer cooperation lately although the concepts are by no means exciting new departures. In order to realize the scope for the present day collaboration with all its similarities and divergences, it has to be set in perspective: what historical experience is available, and how strongly is it shaped by the social, value, and ideological systems?

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1. Historical development of the goals of cooperation:

Although the demand for better cooperation has quite a long history with little change except for giving the parents a larger share in involvement, there has never been continuous call for it. The call has been made only in periods of social change. 4)

Comenius attempted as early as the 17th century and Pestalozzi in the 18th to reduce the fencing off of the school from family life, and Süvern tried to put Condorcet's plea for greater parental participation into practice, when the Prussian school system was reformed after the French Revolution.5) The intention then was to give every father and citizen a share in the supervision of the schools and to secure equal rights for home and school in education. Furthermore educational reformers like J. Dewey and P. Petersen clearly realized at the turn of the century that parental participation was indispensable for pedagogical revival of primary schools in terms of a child-centred education, and after the Second World War parent support and cooperation was regarded as a condition sine qua non for the reconstruction of schools in accordance with children's needs and democratic principles. 6)

Altogether there were at least three major goals for intensified cooperation between home and school:

- On the one hand it was argued in favour of parental rights, if public school policy touched too strongly on questions of religious faith, philosophy of life or on ideological matters.7) Such discussions on parents' rights are still current as is manifest in French demonstrations in favour of the 'ecole libre' in 1984.

- On the other hand active parent cooperation was demanded during periods of social change in order to democratize the school system, if the institutional structures and/or state requirements no longer met the conscious interest of larger social groups. This claim for participatory democracy was quite en vogue in the late 60ies, although sometimes it served less the children or parents, instead it was needed to legitimize goals of educational planning commissions or politically active groups.8)

- Finally parent involvement was quite strongly approved, if the traditional school subjects and didactics did not appear to be adequate for the children's and educational requirements. This traditional demand to make schools more pedagogical and more open institutions through parent cooperation 9) found quite strong resonance with the de-schooling movement.

In general, history shows that the demand for parent cooperation

has been closely associated with periods of social change, that there have been quite different although interrelated aspects of cooperation, and that it is insufficient to discuss home-school relations in practical terms alone, concerned with: crisis contacts, group relations or legal provisions.

However, with what intentions home-school relations are favoured today and how strongly parents' rights and the schools' democratization are supported in different countries, depends to a great extent on the socio-political system and on ideological (weltanschauliche) concepts.

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2. Social and ideological influences on the aims of cooperation:

Although in all industrial societies a family-school dichotomy is regarded as absurd, the goals and procedures of cooperation differ considerably according to the socio-political systems and value patterns.

In **centralized states** - and particularly in those with a one-party system (as the USSR or GDR) - the cooperation of parents is not only conceived and organized as support for schools but also submitted to school education and educational - if not ideological - policy. To a certain extent the school may even have a controlling influence on parents in case of familial shortcomings in education.10)

> In the GDR for example the parents' right in education is established constitutionally (Art. 37, 40, 44) but at the same time they have no influence on the school organization; on the contrary, the parental representatives have to explain to their electors the decisions of the communist party conventions concerned with educational policy and have to enforce them in order to guarantee the development of a socialist society.11)

In contrast **pluralistic democracies** - and particularly decentralized and community-oriented democracies (as for instance the Netherlands or USA) - not only acknowledge the parents' right in education but also approve to a certain extent participatory models of cooperation. Sometimes parents even attain a joint right (Mitentscheidungsrecht) to decide on school matters (e.g. in the FRG), or to influence curriculum decisions (as in some parts of the USA). 12)

> In the FRG for example family and school not only have competitive fundamental rights in education (GG, Art. 6,7), but in the regional state of Hessen, parents also possess the constitutionally established right to share educational policy decisions at the school and regional level. 13) To a certain extent this situation is an outcome of the American occupation influence after the Second World War.

An additional analysis of political and ideological attitudes in pluralistic societies allows further understanding of attitudinal trends **towards parent cooperation.** Generally liberal democratic groups are most likely to admit parent participation into decision-making, while conservative groups are more cautious with restrictions to the teachers' expert knowledge and schools' authority. Instead socialist orientated groups partly tend to

limit parents' influence in order to secure equality of learning opportunities and uniformity of the school system, and partly they strongly stress parent cooperation in order to reform or revolutionize the education system. 14)

The attitudes towards parent cooperation do not only depend however on historical experiences and political concepts but also on revaluations of the family and school functions which have lately happened and on new research results.

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II. NEED FOR COOPERATION FROM TODAY'S POINT OF VIEW

In spite of all national and ideological differences quite an overall trend exists towards parent involvement now that the high expectations in schooling have decreased and research has made it quite clear that even compensatory programmes have had little effect if conceptualized against and not with the home.

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1. Revaluation of the educative functions of home and school:

Experiences from several countries show unanimously that there has been quite a shift of emphasis in cooperation strategies in accordance with **the revaluation of the educational functions of home and school.**

Immediately after the Second World War, when all social systems had to be reconstructed, the educational **function of the family** - itself in trouble - was quite often overestimated. Then, with growing stabilization of the social system the family was more and more limited to private spheres, and afterwards its educational capacity even put to question as the welfare state expanded, confidence in social engineering increased and the vicious circle of deprivation was related to family socialization. It was not until the mid-70ies that the educational potentials and deficits of the family were perceived in a more differentiated way. 15) Accordingly a new demand developed for parent cooperation with schools.

Today there is **widespread consensus:** On the one hand the family itself - quite often a one-parent or one-child family - tends to be more prone to disturbance and less capable of bearing stress. On the other hand it is meanwhile well-known, that familial socialization is more influential on the child's life attitudes, on its learning capacity, and and even on its subject competences (as e.g. mathematics) than the school. In any case a fusion of 'learning' with the practical application of the 'learned' tends to be easiest and most meaningful for the child in its everyday life experience in the family.16)

Over the same period the evaluation of the **schools' educative function** changed almost in inverse proportion to that of the family. After the Second World War school was expected first to foster children according to their ability, then to guarantee equality of opportunity, and finally to assist children in dealing with out-of-school challenges (e.g. through preparation for leisure problems or family life).

Scepticism towards schools did not really increase in Europe until the mid-70ies, when the limited effect of compensatory education, the importance of school stress or the motivational decline in the first years of schooling were realized. From this resulted considerable distrust of social technology and quite strong school criticism.17)

Today **widespread opinion** towards schools reads as follows: On the one hand schools - which are complicated systems with professional well-organized objectives and highly differentiated subjects - have deviated from children's own experience and environment,

and turned to beeing socially isolated. On the other hand schools offer children important opportunities to mix with their peer group, they substitute missing parental guidance and to a great extent determine children's vocational opportunities. 18)

From all this follows: The kind of cooperation, which is considered to be necessary, depends quite extensively on the evaluation of the educational functions of home and school. It is easy to understand that cooperation meant little more than parent support for school learning when there was little appreciation for the family and great respect for schools as in the 60ies. Generally it was not until the mid-70ies that it was at least theoretically accepted: that neither home nor school is a completely adequate institution for education by itself, and that they should not try to duplicate each other's functions (see page

This change in attitudes toward home and school education - now favouring a partnership cooperation - was well in line with and strongly influenced by social research.

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2. Research results demand closer cooperation:

Over the **last 15 years research** has not focussed any longer on traditional discussions (e.g. parents rights) and partial family effects (e.g. on school success) nor has it concentrated anymore on family socialization in terms of demographic factors or psychological effects (as in the 60ies). 19) Instead it has tried to interrelate psychological and sociological aspects of learning with institutional conditions (i.e. home and school conditions) for learning and has then correlated effects on learning.

Such studies have made it quite clear, that **school success** depends more on parents than on teachers or curricula, it corresponds more with the parents' psychological support of their children than on their socio-economic strata, and is strongly related to parent cooperation with the school. 20)

> The home situation e.g. explains a much larger part of the variance in the mathematical, language or political knowledge of the children than school conditions or teacher competence.

Nevertheless schools strongly influence children's demands on the home, the **educational orientation of the parents** and the parents' attitudes towards school and cooperation with it. 21)

> Parents predominantly defend e.g. - notwithstanding their age and the date when their children left school - those educational opinions and standards prevailing at the time when their children were at school.

Furthermore a number of studies - which have been concerned explicitly **with parent cooperation** - demonstrate e.g. that intensive parent participation not only reduces discipline problems in schools but correlates highly with good grades, that cooperation is a prerequisite for attitudinal change in children for successful work with the disadvantaged as well as handicapped, and that children make longer lasting gains if parents are cooperative. 22)

Particularly reviews of early childhood intervention programmess have proven quite convincingly that active parental involvement and close cooperation in educational planning and realization is critical to programme success. 23)

Generally it is evident from research that strong parent involvement and intensive collaboration almost never appeared to be problematic as long as it was reasonably well planned in a comprehensive and long lasting way. However research shows at the same time: close cooperation is demanded almost everywhere in Europe, in all countries it is managed extremely well in some places, although in many schools it is left to chance and seldom promoted continuously. 24)

Altogether the research results have given quite an impulse to education and school policy over the last 15 years, since they coincided and overlapped with the civil rights and participation movement, with the revaluation of the educative function of home and school, and with increasing criticism of educational bureaucracy and social technology.

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III. IMPLEMENTATION OF COOPERATION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In spite of the overall revaluation of family education and in face of research results which favour a closer collaboration between home and school great divergence exists in the conceptualization and organization of such contacts in different nations. On the one hand this follows from the variety of socio-political and ideological preconceptions (see page...), on the other it results from national traditions and problems in education!

In order to avoid an additive summary of national experiences and to refrain from stereotyping European developments on the basis of one country's experience, first of all a sketchy overview of European developments will be given and then - for two countries with strong cooperation traditions (the FRG and USA) - it will be explained, why quite different intentions and concepts for cooperation in primary schools exist.

Generally it can be stated for Europe that there has been quite a change in the 70ies from an individual crisis orientated cooperation concept to a more collective and administrative one. Several countries came up with new legal requirements for an institutionalized parent representation: in schools or even at the regional and national level as (e.g. Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy). 25) Although this parent participation was mainly limited to consultations, to participation in extra-curricular activities and certain decisions concerned with school rules, it nevertheless lead to stronger participation in these countries than was the case in countries with a long democratic tradition, a decentralized education system or powerful headmasters (like England or Switzerland).

In England e.g. low parent participation was complained about in the mid-60ies (Plowden Report), spreading of contacts demanded in the 70ies (e.g. Department of Education), or even a 25% share of parents in schools' governing boards recommended (Taylor Report). At the same time it was ascertained that only 37% of the primary schools had PTA's and mainly the headmaster organized the parents' contacts. These demands are all the more remarkable because British primary schools are in several ways exemplary. 26)

Not very dissimilar is the Swiss situation with its strong 'cantonal' and local power in educational administration. There was a big push towards parent committees in the mid-70ies, mainly limited to primary schools. Nevertheless they mainly concentrated on parent information, parent guidance and on contacts amongst parents. These increased contacts were well accepted by teachers but had relatively little resonance amongst parents, so that contact between parents and school still quite often happens in terms of individual child-orientated contacts.27)

But, in spite of these developments in institutionalized parent cooperation, it is not clear yet from the experiences, to what extent defined parental rights for cooperation really led to more democratic schools and better education. Although there obviously was a challenge for closer cooperation, and the new push can be a worthwhile framework for an integrated education, this trend was

generally not backed up by an in-service training for teachers and detailed guidance for parents. 28)

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1. Parent cooperation in the decentralized education system of the USA:

In the USA neither national nor single state authorities have more than a restricted authority in educational matters, since school boards - which decide on education taxes as well as school subjects - are 'locally' elected. In additionabout 70% of the public supports the idea that 'local' school boards should decide on curricula. Nevertheless parent control on schools is extremely indirect even at its greatest, since 'local' school boards tend to be quite large bureaucracies (particularly in metropolitan and large suburban areas) and since parents have no strong collective rights for participation at the school level. 29) But at the same time parent participation, which by tradition finds considerable attention, was valued all the higher the more simple compensatory strategies failed and the school crisis increased. 30)

Today's ideas on home-school relations are strongly influenced by the mutual penetration of these background traditions and experiences.

On the one hand **wide public support exists for parent involvement** particularly at the primary school level, although the involvement is primarily seen as an important help to the child's learning.

> As may be seen from public surveys, not only 90% of the teachers regard more home-school relations as desirable and indicate that parents usually initial their children's home work, but also 84% of the parents (with children at school) favour meetings with school personel before each new school year (to work out plans to be followed both in school and at home), and 80% of them welcome monthly parent evenings to discuss possibilities for the promotion of their children. 31)

On the other hand there is relatively **little concern about matters of participatory democracy** (i.e. collective parent participation) or about parental influence on school governance, for schools are often considerably closed to an input from the community.

> Research shows unanimously, that teachers seldom explain their teaching concepts to parents (even when interested in parent cooperation), parents almost never have a say in curriculum planning, and decision-making in governance-related activities is generally beyond the influence of parent advisory councils. 32)

Altogether one cannot help thinking that of all types of parent involvement, **supervision of learning activities at home** is regarded as the most educationally significant, because "parent activities at home can involve many or all children's parents", while PTA councils and classroom volunteers would only involve relatively few. 33) In this stance, which strongly relates to compensatory strategies, parents are regarded - if not used - as a

worthwhile source in instructional related activities.

The following results from an enquiry with 3500 primary school teachers and 600 of their principals identify special areas of collaboration, in which parents are expected to support their children under teachers' guidance. 34)

Active Use of Selected Techniques of Parent Involvement

Techniques	Principals Who Encourage (%)	Teachers Who Use Actively (%)
Read aloud or listen to reading	76	66
Informal games at home	45	21
Contract with parents on students' projects	33	25
Loan books to parents	31	41
Teach parents techniques for tutoring and evaluation	24	21
Parent contracts to reward or punish behavior	12	13
Parent-led discussion of TV shows	12	2

Although the consequences of this approach for the home-school collaboration will be discussed later on from a systematic point of view (see page ...), some important aspects of the US position can be summarized as follows.

In spite of the US tradition of participatory democracy and community-aligned schools, home-school relations are rather school dominated and learning orientated, and particularly so at the primary school, since parents are most likely to help their children at this age.

To a large extent this cooperation came into being, 35) because there was and is extraordinary demand on schools to reduce social inequality and to be more effective, and because parents are primarily interested in having their children prepared for a rather competitive society.

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2. Parent participation in the centralized education systems of the FRG:

In Germany all important educational reforms in the 19th and 20th Century have been accompanied by lively discussions on parent participation and legal debates on parents' rights. A consequence - arising from this tradition to legalize parent participation - has been, that parental cooperation is more precisely defined and administratively ensured that in most other European countries. 36) It is characteristic that according to the basic law the state in fact has sovereign jurisdiction on school education (GG Art. 7) but parents at the same time have a competitive right in their children's education (GG Art. 6). 37) Due to the authority of the 'Länder' regarding cultural and educational matters, it was they that had legally to define and organize home-school relations. In all the 'Länder' legal requirements exist for collective parent participation at the level of the class and school and for the most at the regional level too. But it is only in Hessen that parents participate with a vote in educational policy decisions (i.e. the introduction of new curricula and examinations needs agreement of the parents' regional representatives).

When the educational system was changed in the 70ies, new demands for extended parent participation and legal regulation were made under the influx of participation experiences in industry and universities, and in accordance with research insights in family socialization. 38)

In view of a continuous change in education and the greater liveliness of the educational system the following was envisaged by national committees on educational policy and administered in regionally different concentration: that parents and teachers consult each other with regard to homework, learning assessment and educational planning (e.g. NRW), that teachers give parents reasons for their teaching content and methods as an opportunity to make their own suggestions (e.g. Bad.-Württemberg), that parents have more opportunity to sit in on classes (e.g. Saarland), or that more discussions between inspectors, headmasters, teachers and parents are arranged (e.g. Hamburg). 39)

However, although parent cooperation can be made easier by administrative ordinances and legislation, this does not necessarily lead to effective realization. Probably the change in social attitudes - which led to all the regulations - is more important than the formal rights and is the real backbone to change in collaboration.

In comparison with the 60ies e.g., the school is no longer perceived as a rather inaccessible sovereign institution, and parents' contacts have increased strongly throughout all social strata (about 50% of the parents want an intensified participation in school affairs).

As far as primary schools are concerned, parent cooperation is quite intensive in formal as well as informal ways, and collaboration as teacher aids is well spread in some areas - as will be discussed later on from a systematic point of view (see page...). Close cooperation appears all the more possible, since parents do not give high priority to the teaching of RRR's (35%) but pay as much attention to education for independence (35%) and the development of the ability to think (45%). Finally close cooperation is not only welcomed by parents but also by about 3/4 of the teachers, although only 1/3 of them is ready to support parents with their home education - which points to a remarcably different self and cooperation concept from that in the USA (see page

Altogether in most European countries there has been quite a change in home-school relations since the 1960ies. A comparison of the two rather contrasting concepts in the USA and FRG - a learning orientated vs a collective participatory concept - shows plainly, how strongly cooperation models are tied, if not subordinated to social demands and limited aims.

As far as the European developments are concerned some scepticism seems appropriate in view of lasting effects of the cooperative mood for three main reasons: first, there seems to be less and less enthusiasm among teachers in the clutch of the recession; second: educational - and particularly didactic - research has shown little interest in home-school collaboration and has not come up with scientifically examined strategies for parent involvement; and third, it appears to be debatable, whether teachers will and can be ready for the collaborative task with at its best little training. 41)

IV. DIFFERENT EMPHASES IN COOPERATION STRATEGIES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

After some frameworks and trends in home-school cooperation as well as national accentuations have been described, an analysis will now be given showing which strategies and means lead to which kind of practical consequence.

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1. Different functions assigned to parent participation:

In all pluralistic societies **three different - though overlapping - functions** of parent participation can be distinguished. Which element is awarded priority depends on national traditions as well as social circumstances and educational structures.

- On the one hand **parent participation may be regarded as a citizens' initiative** which should be activated in view of a participatory democracy, for nowhere else do adults usually have a similar chance to cooperate with as much competence with social institutions. Here parent participation is regarded as an opportunity to make school structures more democratic and to improve their neighbourhood relations. Furthermore parents themselves gain quite a lot through 'participatory learning' in terms of political education, pedagogy and educating their children. And finally this participation may favour making schools community centres. 42)

  How this participatory concept can be put into practice has been demonstrated by Lady Plowden's swing from nursery schools to preschool playgroups, which are self-organized by parents under public supervision. The meaning of the participatory concept for primary schools may be observed in the Netherlands. Strong parent participation is not only taken for granted - particularly in the pedagogical reform schools - but parents also have the legal right to set up their own primary schools (and get them publicly financed), if they serve at least 25 children under certain conditions. 43)

  Finally it should be mentioned that this concept is the basis for many parent involvement strategies (see page ...), for collective parent actions (e.g. for smaller classes in primary schools) and for parent representation in school or administrative councils.

- On the other hand **parent participation is quite often regarded as a supportive or relief system to school teaching.** This was particularly the case with compensatory education, curriculum development and educational planning at the turn from the 60ies to the 70ies. Schools were then seen as competent agents fo social change, and should influence or educate parents, while parents were somehow pressed into a feeder function according to learning goals set up. 44) Since the 80ies this type of parent participation has been meeting with increasing response again because schools having more and more difficulties in fulfilling their obligations under the freeze.

  Consequences for the primary school situation are: Home and school are not on equal footing, the educative function of

the home is somewhat subordinated to learning functions which are relevant to the school. This approach is wellknown from 'crisis contacts to parents', from the schools' demand for parental control of homework and from strategies where parents are asked to use didactic games or instructional techniques related to school work. 45)

- And thirdly there is a primarily **children-orientated function for cooperation**, which puts the environmental, developmental and personal dispositions of children in the forefront and is less concerned with the learning goals of the school or parental representation on school boards e.g. This concept has to be very flexible depending on the situations as well as problems of the children and the possibilities of the home and the school.

> At the primary school level such an open, synchronized and holistic form of cooperation is most common: when children start school, if they are handicapped and if they belong to minority groups (see page ...). This concept appears all the more important: the weaker the educative function of the school is, the more the psychological lability of the children increases, or the stronger the influence of the concomittant educators gets (e.g. of the media).

Although these different functions of parent cooperation overlap considerably the following description of practical parent involvement strategies at the primary school level show quite clearly, **how differently educational bureaucracies and schools weigh parent participation.** At least there is a trend: parents are pressed into a helping function, if cooperation is primarily concerned with educational or subject standards, while parents are more accepted as educative partners, if childhood is not only valued as a pre-form of adulthood and if children are primarily to be helped to deal with their personal and environmental problems.

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2. Practical consequences for parent involvement:

Even if schools strive for strong parent involvement and are concerned with similar groups of parents, the structure and form of cooperation depends to a large extent on the way administration and teachers perceive the schools' and parents' function. How differently primary schools may either stimulate and assist parents to support school learning or may involve them as teaching aids to integrate both the educational spheres, will be clear from the following summaries:

Support of school learning through home activities has been well-organized in various US cooperation projects (e.g. the 'Parent Plus Program' in Chicago or the 'Houston Failsafe Program'). Similar home enrichment measures are usual in Israel (at the Hebrew University) and worthwhile experience has been made with them in Scotland (the Lothian Educational Home Visiting Scheme). 46)

This type of cooperation is based on the opinion that poorly educated parents cannot help themselves and that teachers alone cannot deal with the manifold and diverse learning problems in their class. Therefore parents are given practical suggestions on how to support their children's school learning (e.g. by daily

reviews of school activities) or how to train certain abilities (e.g. in reading). Sometimes parents even get computerized instructions on how to cope with the current learning deficits of their children, and/or 'home learning recipes' to support certain subject matters. 47)

The overall aim of these home-school relations is to increase the reading and calculation ability of primary school children and to make parents more aware of the learning behaviour and particular learning difficulties of their children. Whether these measures are educationally relevant on a broader basis than just the skill-testing level is open to debate. 48) Particularly the side effects of such cooperation-strategies may be of concern.

> The Scottish project e.g. comes up with the following self-critical observations: Perhaps parents are forced "to feel that they should adopt a more directive 'teaching' stance," and 'mothering skills' which appear to be important "may be further de-valued and undermined", so that "society may, in the long run, be the loser if it is deprived of a wide variety of human concerns and abilities..." 49)

Generally all such cooperation programmess bestow on parents rather functional and school-orientated 'tutoring tasks', which are somehow atypical to educational conditions of the homes of privileged children.

A different concept of parent participation has been put into practice at 174 primary schools in Hamburg (FRG), where parents participate as teacher aids throughout all subject areas (somehow on a rotation basis). 50) Similar concepts are used on smaller scales in several European countries.

Such concepts tend to stem from the view: that schools need better orientation about the children's life experiences and about its own repercussion on the home; in addition parents not only need personal experience of the school's teaching style but they also get better feeling for the situation of their own child amongst classmates; and finally the child has a certain chance: to learn participatory attitudes from the cooperation, 51) to get more personal attention than the teacher alone can provide and to be relieved of unnecessary divergence of school and out-of-school experiences.

In accordance with these goals, in Hamburg parents have been involved as teacher aids for more than 10 years; partly to give technical assistance (e.g. with swimming), partly to present their own experience to the class (e.g. if vocational, family or leisure time matters are discussed in environmental education), and partly to tutor small groups or individual children during all kinds of lessons (e.g. in reading).

Generally there was quite strong scepticism when this cooperative approach was started, particularly on the part of teachers (in view of additional work and conflicts) and perhaps above all on the part of trade unions (in view of uncertified lay-teachers). In the meantime the approach is widely approved, since it became quite clear, that parents cooperate under the teachers' guidance, and that careful planning, step-by-step introduction, and open-

minded follow-up treatment improve the school climate, allow more individualized instruction and favour the children's learning motivation. 52)

> Although it has been stressed that parents from all social strata participate, it has not yet been researched, to what extent the approach leads to attitudinal changes in home education and to increased learning of the children.

Altogether the three different emphases on parent cooperation have been sketched - an emphasis on parents as citizens, another on parents as supporters of school learning and a third on a children-centred cooperation. Of these the first kind of cooperation is mainly practised through collective parent representatives. The second kind, which is by far the most common, has been explained in two important variations with regard to educational concerns in the US and FRG. The third one, although it is continuously stressed and indirectly practised, is the most difficult to realize, if it is to be more than just a crisis contact. Since no universal concepts but an urgent need for such cooperation exist, the following section points to practical aspects from which future developments may depart.

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V. SUCCESSFUL PARTNERSHIP IN OPERATION AND FOR THE FUTURE

There can hardly be real partnership in cooperation, if home-school relations are exclusively concerned with school affairs. But, if cooperation were primarily children-orientated, and cared as well for out-of-school activities as for in-school activities, then parents and teachers would be quite dependent on one another. Unfortunately, several important areas, which demand mutual care and cooperation get little attention. Such mutual areas of concern should and could be e.g.: road safety training and education for leisure, or intergenerational contacts and social education, or the rather sensitive areas of motivation and education in the affective domain. 53)

How indispensable cooperation on a partnership basis is in such areas, will be exemplified by further discussion of some school and some home-related cooperation episodes.

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1. Mutual collaboration in school-related ares:

The start of school and the first period of schooling usually imply for children, parents and teachers quite a lot of expectations and frustrations. Children e.g. tend to react to the new challenge (even if they have had Kindergarten experience) with a significant increase in anxiety, mothers may feel relief and turn to own interests or may come up with high demands on their childrens' learning (after the sudden cessation of their educational tasks), and teachers are obviously in an uneasy situation with large groups of small children whom they do not know so that they may withdraw to teaching from the front. 54)

Such disadvantageous points of departure can easily be avoided through more child-centred forms of cooperation:

- which try to interrelate the children's prior and out-of-school experiences, their needs for confidence, and the goals of the school with one another;

- which give teachers a fair chance to start from the children's background conditions (cultural, social and motivational) and to work more for their personal development than just for a transfer of cultural techniques (because of school regulations);

- and which help parents to cope with changing family situations, to understand present day primary school didactics, and to be taken seriously as educative partners. 53)

Cooperation of this kind could easily be practised, if the various independent actions in schools were synchronized a bit more. It would be of great advantage for the children and cooperation of home and school:

- if teachers were not only equipped with short biographies of the children before school starts (as in Gloucestershire) but could experience their children as early as possible in their Kindergarten and home environment (as is usual in the Rudolf Steiner Schools);

- if parents could exchange ideas with the then first-grade parents and sit in on classes or help as teacher aids. And finally all would benefit,

- if cooperation were not limited to personal contacts and parents' evenings but were arranged as a continuous process of mutual orientation, guidance and support, sometimes via out-of-school activities, sometimes with common seminars for Kindergarden nurses, parents and teachers, and sometimes through joint teacher-parent activities to help children and families in need. 56)

Since it depends strongly on the early forms of cooperation, whether home and school offer assimilatable life experiences to children, whether group formations of parents and children (e.g. according to social, ethnic or intellectual differences) can be avoided, and what cooperation style is developed for the future, great attention should be paid to early mutuality and partnership in cooperation. 57)

Although a close partnership appears to be most urgent, when the child starts school, the collaboration should be regarded as a continuous process. Amongst the numerous areas of - school related - interactions, perhaps the most common (but sometimes badly used area) is that of **homework**.

Closer cooperation in this area is needed and possible. It is needed: because the amount of homework, which strongly influences school success - has risen dramatically over the last years in several countries. But at the same time schools really have not developed consequent didactic means of operating homework and they do not control the homeconditions for doing the homework. Furthermore parents regard homework as a burden and as worthwhile at the same time and get under more and more strain.

A closer collaboration is possible on the other hand: through occasional discussions about the aims, problems and results of homework, through clear arrangements regarding supervision and feedback from both the sides, through intermediate inserts for parents e.g. with regard to home experiments or observations, or through parent-controlled studygroups (e.g. for the benefit of disadvantaged children), etc. 58)

A sharing of responsibility in this area could be a significant help in limiting the strain on children, in interrelating their out-of-school and school activities, in allowing parents and teachers to be more aware of the childrens' learning motivation and capabilities, to reduce potential conflicts between home and school, to avoid a prolongation of the circle of deprivation, and finally, it could lead the schools to a more conscious inclusion of homework in its didactic strategy. Such close cooperation is all the more needed and possible, the opener the teaching concept of the school becomes. 59)

But, an urgent need for partnership certainly does not only exist, where home and school meet directly as social institutions. Perhaps the need is even stronger where home-school influences overlap considerably and where their coolaboration is more difficult to organize.

2. Mutual collaboration in home-related areas:

Since children have at least as much to cope with in out-of-school as in school affairs, and since **home needs as much support for its education as the school needs**, a children-orientated cooperation has to be bilateral. It is true that a certain restraint to public influence on private affairs exists, particularly in the affective domain. But there are also areas of overlapping concern (e.g. media education) and deviating life conditions, where families need more understanding and support from schools (e.g. minority families).

Home-school functions overlap a great deal as far as **media education** is concerned. Generally children tend to have a wide range of media at their disposal (it may be television, cassettes, or tele-games) before they start school. The teacher therefore is in the defensive as far as the children's socialisation through media is concerned. Nevertheless even parents expect him to make important contributions to media education. And by the end of the primary school they have to achieve jointly a certain media 'competency', for children are rather independent users then. 60)

Obviously there is an undeniable need for close and child-orientated cooperation of parents and teachers: because generally parents do not feel ready for media education although the media are mainly used at home; because teachers are often little acquainted with the children's media habits and can do little more than teach 'about' the media; and because the children's media consumption is strongly directed through out-door influences (including class mates) and since their consumption has considerable repercussions on home activities and school learning. 61)

Thus, children as well as parents and teachers need more than isolated measures of the home and school, and more than traditional forms of home-school relations. Instead an effective media education which tries to secure an age-related media usage requires a children-orientated collaboration, e.g. with mutual information and agreement, with a supplementing of one another's functions, and perhaps with joint in-service training or joint agreements to offer children real-life alternatives. 62)

If in such collaboration the teacher really accepts that some parents may be more competent in matters of the children's media habits or with problems of media-education than himself, and if he makes good use of these potentials in the interest of the children and the school - then this is real reciprocal collaboration.

Even more important - although quite different in its scope - is the children-orientated **collaboration with parents from minority groups**, they may be ethnic, cultural or single parent groups. For schools on the one hand expect these children to have problems but do not really deal with them, and on the other hand parents do not easily fit into normal home-school relations but depend quite strongly on schools as a crucial source. 63)

Consequently a multitude of supportive learning programmes for children (e.g. language, skill training, or cultural programmes) have failed because of the cleavage between home-school cultural patterns, value orientations, demands on children, etc., - as has particularly been proven in early childhood education. 64)

Generally it is a conditio sine qua non for the children's social and class integration as well as their learning success:

- that teachers should be more familiar with their family attitudes and concerns (e.g. to what extent Turks accept female teachers, or if parents without custody may receive school information),

- that other parents should not isolate these families of class mates (but allow for their cultural differences and accept their different outlook on family patterns),

- and that the class mates should give the children some in-group safety.

All this can only be realized through home-school cooperation which is at least as strongly family as school-related, which favours collaboration amongst different families, and which puts the children's development in the forefront (e.g. if they - perhaps as second or third generation of immigrants - stand right in the middle between home and school value patterns). 65)

All in all children-orientated, mutual collaboration between home and school is urgently needed and can be practised as the earlier episodes of collaboration demonstrate (see page ...). The real challenge is how to realize continuous parent cooperation over the years and how to avoid unnecessary conflicts resp. how to cope with unavoidable incompatibilities.

VI. CONFLICTS AND POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN COOPERATION

In all countries there have been and will be **continuous discussions over the forms of cooperation that are desirable.** For, whether objections against intensive parent involvement or demands for extended collaboration arise, is dependent on the changes taking place in the structure of the school and the family, and on the conflicts arising from the cooperation.

The **objections** against strong parent participation in school affairs are traditionally linked with arguments as e.g.: education is too complex and too important to allow simple forms of parent participation, or extensive participation could stabilize the social stratification and could burden the school with additional conflicts.

On the contrary **intensified collaboration** is often **favoured** with comments as e.g.: the children can more easily be protected against competing demands of home and school, the parents get more insight into pedagogical developments and didactic strategies, and the schools can be saved from social isolation and technocratic alienation.

Thus, in order to avoid cooperation being put into someone else's commission, parent involvement being blocked by teachers to benefit their own interests, or the real possibilities beeing overestimated, it is necessary to be aware of the **potential conflicts** in home-school collaboration and of the need for its **gradual improvement.**

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1. Unsolvable and unnecessary conflicts in cooperation:

New endeavours to intensify home-school relations tend to imply new conflicts. 66) These conflicts quite often have rather negative repercussions, because there is too little differentiated knowledge on the extent on which these conflicts are unsolvable or result from inadequate frameworks, from personal shortcomings, and initial problems. It is not until the different conflict sources are observed, that the conflicts can be adequately managed and mutual collaboration be organized.

Conflicts tend to be more unsolvable, if the collaboration does not limit itself to a support of school learning, but deals more generally with the development of children, with overall questions of pedagogy and with educational policy. For home and school have different educational functions and therefore have to start from different priorities in education as well as from different perceptions of family and school.

So parents have to stand up for the individual interests of their children and a holistic upbringing of all children in the face of the schools' norms of achievement and specialisation in subjects. And it is the task of the schools to represent aims of educational policy, to develop (or stick to) curricula, and to offer well-organized didactic learning sequences. Accordingly quite a conflict potential exists in pluralistic societies and this cannot be solved in a formal way. This is particularly so, where home and school have strongly competing educational rights (see

page ...).

In addition it has to be taken into consideration, that contradictions between educational and social policy to a certain extent have effect on home-school relations. On the one hand the school e.g. expects parents not to occupy themselves with the interests of their children alone, but at the same time school marks and reports compel parents to concentrate on school success in view of the demands of a competitive society. 67) And finally the unsolvable conflicts increase to the same extent that the freeze reduces the supportive measures of the school and increases youth unemployment.

All these unsolvable conflicts should be well recognized in cooperation between home and school in order to avoid false assignments of guilt.

With regard to these conflicts one has to distinguish the more unneccessary ones, which are by far the most common. They tend to follow from misjudgements of the cooperative possibilities, from insufficient planning of the collaboration and from inadequate behaviour patterns - which set by far the most difficult problems to solve.

Probably cooperation between home and school is most heavily burdened by the fact: the participating parties make their specific roles rather absolute and children's crises are all too often the reason for contacts. 68) Furthermore cooperation is unnecessarily impeded by the fact teachers are generally not trained for collaboration with parents, the weekly teaching load does not include any time for contacts with parents, and that there has been a long tradition of blaming parents for all difficulties their children have. Finally there are many conflicts which result from 'unnecessary' mistrust and anxiety on the behalf of the parents, since their own school experiences continue to have an effect, since they feel rather defenceless in the face of teachers' 'public authority' and generally have little contact amongst themselves.

Therefore many conflicts could be evaded, if in primary grades cooperation were to be arranged in the spirit of 'confidence-establishing measures' (i.e. in order to develop the social skill of seeing ourselves as others see us), if parents were involved in children-orientated collaboration (i.e. in areas such as leisure, sex, or media education), if they were to get a fair chance of participating in school learning (i.e. via resources-based learning or working as teacher aids), if the conditions for teacher training and teaching loads were to be changed accordingly, and if the school were to give parents all the more support (e.g. through home tutors, liaison teachers or links with the social services), the larger the cultural, social or intellectual gap is between parents and school staff. 69)

All in all conflicts can be reduced to quite a large extent by making parents and teachers more familiar with positive examples of collaboration, by opening up more areas of practical interaction, 70) and by joint in-service training. In addition the unsolvable conflicts would be all the more depersonalized and defused the more parents and teachers became aware of them.

2. Improvements needed to make cooperation easier and more effective:

In all European countries the attitudes and expectations put in home-school cooperation have changed to a much larger degree over the last 15 years than the material, structural, and conceptional conditions for such cooperation have. This discrepancy has not only caused many conflicts but it tends to accelerate discouragement - or even lethargy - if the improvements needed do not come about.

Material and financial improvements are necessary to develop more elaborated contacts with minority parents (e.g. via liaison tutors from those minority groups), to make special arrangements for single-parent families (e.g. if child-care is needed during parent meetings), or to give teachers time off if they are heavily involved in parent cooperation or try out new strategies, and to give some state finance to secure adequate functioning of regional and central parent organisations, etc.

Moreover **structural** improvements are needed beyond legal frameworks (which guarantee parent participation on different levels) so that home-school collaboration can function as a central aspect of education (and not only as a side issue of schooling). This means too, that parents and teachers should organize collaboration on a more equal footing, that collaboration should be as much concerned with out-of-school as school affairs, and that there should be some impartial, non-juridical conciliation 'boards' in case of conflicts, etc.

Last but not least the need for **conceptual** improvements is not only undeniable, but also easiest to be realized under today's circumstances. With regard to these improvements it may be worthwhile considering the following:

- First of all more attention should be paid in all collaboration strategies to the fact that adults do not primarily learn from teaching or lecturing as do children , but that participation in communicative dialogues and practical experiences is far more relevant to them. So, although cooperation needs mutual information it should be geared to interactions and practical tasks.

- Secondly, a change of attitudes will be easiest, if relevant alternatives to one's own behaviour can be observed and tried out. Therefore, collaboration should be regarded and organized as an opportunity for self-learning and self-management. 71) And this holds true for teachers as well as for parents.

- And thirdly, a change in collaboration style from a rather directive and school-orientated to a more mutual, more children-centred, and more educative concept could be realized if a stepwise increase in parent participation were to be allowed. Such stepwise intensified collaboration tends to be the easier, the more both sides work for a gradual process of relationship-building, which somehow follows the summarized sequences:

1. information ⟶ communication ⟶ participation ⟶ codecision-making

2. open mindedness ⟶ relaxed atmosphere ⟶ trust ⟶ skills ⟶ shared responsibilities

Finally a systematic overview tries to explain: in what way each cooperation strategy is linked to certain preconceptions, objectives and forms of cooperation (horizontal line), how a stepwise increase in parent participation can be planned (vertical line), and what the ideological and didactic implications are if some elements in a cooperation process are changed.72)

Context of parent cooperation

Perception of need for coop.	Prevailing objectives	Form of involvement	Function of involvement	Expected attitude
shortcomings of family	learning objectives of school	education of parents	learner	inactive, school adapted
social, cultural differences/demands for equality	effectiveness of school	voluntier	resource	supportive to school and learning
shortcomings of school/needs of children	supplementing learning	para-professional	teaching aid	cooperative in learning and education
comprehensive education/social and educ. change	integrated ed.: participatory democracy	participant	advisory	co-determinant in education and educ.policy

Increase of parent activity

Although some of these conceptual improvements require a minimum of time, energy and resources, and could almost be arrived at right on the spot, an overall change in cooperation strategies will only be possible as a continuous process and in connection with structural and material improvements.

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SUMMARY

At the primary school level close cooperation between home and school is regarded as indisputably necessary today.

Although mutual collaboration had even been favoured by educational reformers of earlier centuries and has repeatedly been en vogue in periods of social change (see Section I), there has never been such an **unanimous swing** in different countries **towards parent involvement as in the 70ies.** This trend was due to a coincidence of three overlapping factors: first, social unrest linked with demands for participatory democracy; second, new research results, which pointed to strong family influence on the child's socialization and learning process; and third, an upgrading of the value of the educative function of the family because of disappointment with educational bureaucracy and planning (see Section II).

Today the **main objectives** of home-school collaboration are almost everywhere: to promote the child's learning development and social well-being by a better fit of the two educational spheres, to stimulate the parents' educational and social competency through pedagogical information or participatory learning, to increase the schools' effectiveness, to counteract the remoteness of subjects out of touch with the child's experience, and to reduce the schools' social isolation.

Which objective gains priority and **how collaboration is organized** in view of it, depends to a large extent on national traditions, social- stratifications and ideological positions (see Section III). On the one hand there are rather school and learning-dominated forms of parent involvement (e.g. to support reading), primarily so in centralized societies (e.g. USSR), or in societies with rather great social inequality (e.g. USA), which in the long run may de-value or undermine the educative function of the family. On the other hand there are concepts of collaboration, particularly in decentralized countries (e.g. Netherlands) and in situations where home and school functions overlap quite strongly (e.g. when school starts or where media and leisure education are concerned), which focus on more comprehensive, children-centred and participatory orientated collaboration between home and school (see Section IV and V). This approach appears to be of particular importance to bridge the gap between different educational and social attitudes of (ethnic, cultural or social) minorities and schools.

All the different strategies are somehow deficient, since quite a **cleavage exists between public expectations of and logistic support for the cooperation,** and since parent participation involves unsolvable as well as unnecessary conflicts. So in order to avoid resistance from schools (e.g. in view of extra work or inadequate training) lack of parental engagement (e.g. because of little self-confidence or 'interest'), or unnecessary conflicts between home and school (e.g. because of insufficient administrative support or inadequate didactic planning), conceptual improvements in cooperation strategies (e.g. through consideration for context variables and stepwise increase in participation) are indisputably necessary (see Section VI).

But above all, if intensive cooperation is regarded as imperfect although essential at the primary school level, then it appeares to be of first-rate importance to ensure:

- that parent cooperation is looked upon as an ongoing process from the pre- to the primary school, is operated as a stepwise expansion of parent participation, and is organized with appreciation of the different educativ functions of home and school;

- that 'successful' examples of alternative ways of collaboration are made accessible to parents and teachers, which point to different strategies possible according to environmental conditions and needs of children, which explain side effects as well as problems arising in cooperation, and which stimulate a search for unbureaucratic means of collaboration taking account of parents' and teachers' capabilities;

- that in-service training concepts and training possibilities for parents, teachers, and administrators are developed to guarantee more understanding: for the complementary functions of home and school, for the significance of participatory learning for adults, and for the special situations of disadvantaged children as well as minority families;

- that more complex and longitudinal research is carried out comparing consequences of different cooperation strategies with regard to their repercussions on child development, parents' attitudes towards education, school learning, and on a more holistic education which not only prepares the child for adult life but simultaneously increases his/her personal stability, 'identity', and ability to live a full life as a child;

- that a legal framework is developed in order to guarantee not only information to parents (e.g. access to school records) and participation at all administative levels, but also to make provision for the establishment of parent organizations and their participation in educational policy-making, since there can be no doubt, that their exertion of influence is at least as legitimate as that of professional or trade union organizations.

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All in all it has become quite clear from educational reforms in the 70ies, that educational policy can only be successful if parent participation is more than just supportive annex to professional planning.

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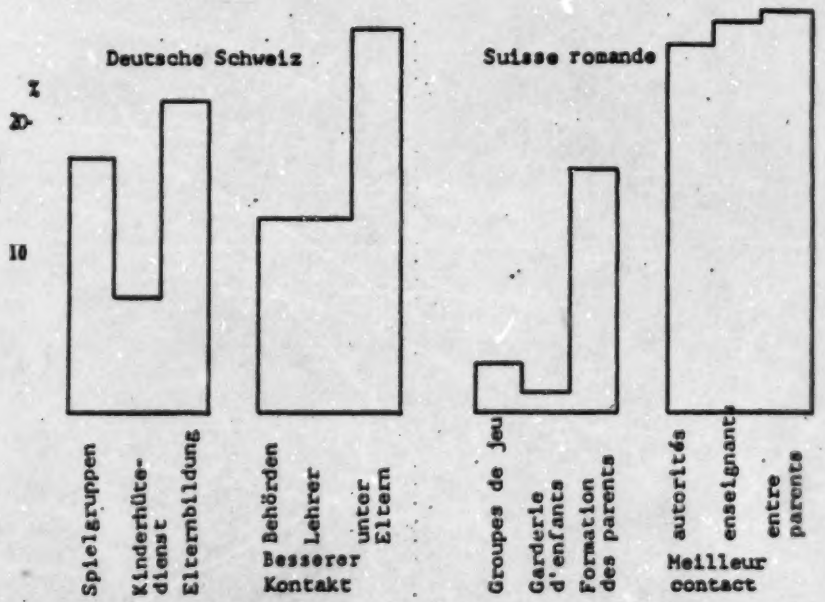

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29) SCHLEICHER K, Elternhaus und Schule in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, in: SCHLEICHER K (ed), 1972, cf Ref. 4), pp 195 ff, pp 207; - GALLUP G H, The 12th Annual Gallup Poll of the public's attitudes toward the public schools, in: Phi Delta Kappan 1/Vol. 62, 1980, pp 36 ff.

30) School-critics e.g. favoured not only the development of alternative schools but even initiated a small movement that encouraged parents to educate their children at home.

31) National Education Association (NEA), Nationwide teacher opinion poll, Washington D C, Mimeo 1981; - GALLUP G H, The 10th Annual Gallup Poll of the public's attitudes toward the public school's, in: Phi Delta Kappan, 1/Vol. 60, 1978 pp 33 ff.

32) EPSTEIN J L/ BECKER H J, Teachers' reported practices of parent involvement: problems and possibilities, in: The Elementary School Journal 2/Vol. 83, Nov. 1982, p 80; - JONES N A P, A study of the possible relationship between the type and frequency of parental participation and student achievement in an urban school setting, Doctor. cf Ed., University of Mass. 1982; - TAYLOR K W, 1958, cf Ref.12) pp 443 f; - KLEIN M F/ TYE K A/ WRIGHT J E, A study of schooling; Curriculum, in: Phi Delta Kappan, 3/Vol. 61, Dec. 1979, p 246.

33) BECKER H J/ EPSTEIN J L, Parents involvement; A survey of teacher practices, in: The Elementary School Journal, 2/Vol. 83, Nov. 1982 p 111.

34) EPSTEIN J L / BECKER H J, 1982, cf Ref.32, p. 95.

35) Certainly there exists a great variety of requests for wider, more reciprocal or stronger institutionalized forms of collaboration on the one hand and a well organized structures of PTAs on the other, but these organizations do not have a strong imprint on present day contacts.

36) DOLCH J, 1928, cf Ref. 7); - STEIN E, Die rechtsphilosophischen und positiv-rechtlichen Grundlagen des Elternrechts, in: STEIN E /JOEST W/ DOMBOIS H (eds), Elternrecht, Heidelberg 1958; - ROEBBELEN J, Zum Problem des Elternrechts, Heidelberg 1966.

37) There is a trend to define parents' educational rights today less in terms of family law than as a right of guardianship for children. ZUBKE FR, 1980, cf Ref.8) pp 62 f.

38) BOPPEL W/ KOLLENBERG U, Mitbestimmung in der Schule, Köln 1981, pp 14 ff; - DEUTSCHER BILDUNGSRAT, EMPFEHLUNGEN DER BILDUNGSKOMMISSION, 1970 2, cf Ref. 15) pp 21 ff; - ARNOLD W, Bildungswilligkeit der Eltern im Hinblick auf ihre Kinder, in: ROTH H (ed), Begabung und Lernen, Deutscher Bildungsrat, Gutachten und Studien der Bildungskommission, Vol. 4, Stuttgart 1969; - WURZBACHER G (ed), Die Familie als Sozialisationsfaktor, Stuttgart 1968.

39) SENAT DER FREIEN UND HANSESTADT HAMBURG, Bildungsbericht, Hamburg 1970, p 43; - DEUTSCHER BILDUNGSRAT, Empfehlungen der Bildungskommission, Zur Reform von Organisation und Verwaltung im Bildungswesen I, Stuttgart 1973; - GUENTHER H/ WILLEKE C und R,

Die Elternmitverantwortung bejahen; Chancen des Schulmitwirkungsgesetzes, in: IBW-Joural 2/1979, pp 2ff; - HUELSHOFF R/ GILLE R/ KITTLER U/ et al., Eltern und Lehrer. Theorie und Praxis schulischer Elternarbeit, Paderborn 1979, pp 52 ff, 82 ff.

40) BOPPEL W/ KOLLENBERG U, 1981, cf Ref. 38), pp 35 f; - AKTION HUMANE SCHULE, Schulstress - Behauptung oder Wirklichkeit? Ergebnisse einer Elternbefragung, (Aachen) 1981; - HUELSHOFF R/ GILLE R/ KITTLER U/ et al., 1979, cf Ref. 39), pp 17 f.

41) One of the most important reports for educational reform in the FRG the 'Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen' did mention home school relations only with a single sentence; and most basic curriculum concepts as well as genral handbooks on primary school education are concerned with parent involvement only in an annexed way.
DEUTSCHER BILDUNGSRAT, 1970 2, cf Ref. 15); - KLAFKI W/ SCHEFFER U/ KOCH-PRIEWE B/ et al., Schulnahe Curriculumentwicklung und Handlungsforschung, Forschungsbericht des Marburger Grundschulprojekts. Weinheim/Basel 1982, pp 537 ff.
In most countries the situation is quite the same, cf Ref.63). There are only a few relevant research studies which really evaluate advantages and disadvantages of certain involvement strategies, as e.g.: RAVEN J, Parents, teachers and children. A study of an educational home visiting scheme. (The Scottish Council for Research in Education), Edinburgh 1980; - HARRIS P L, The development of educational experiences designed to train prospective teachers to work with parents, Doc. of Ed., University of Mass., Feb. 1979, pp 4 ff.

42) BUECHNER P (ed), 1976, cf Ref. 6) pp 11 ff.

43) Plowden, J P, Presidential Address at annual conference, Preschool Playgroups Ass., 8 April 173, Mimeo; - US DEP. OF HEW, OFFICE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT/ OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT/ HOME START, A guide for planning and operating home-based child development programs, Washington DC 1974; - RUPP J C C, Elternhaus und Schule in den Niederlanden, in: SCHLEICHER K, 1972 cf Ref.4), pp 132 ff; - CENTRAAL BUREAU VOOR HET KATHOLIEK ONDERWIJS/ et al., Medezeggenschap in het oderwijs, deel 1-2, Gravenhage 1982.

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49) RAVEN J, 1980, cf Ref. 41), pp 89 f, 163 f.

50) BUERGERSCHAFT DER FREIEN UND HANSESTADT HAMBURG, Mitteilung des Senats an die Bürgerschaft, Bericht über die Schulversuche Vorschulklasse und Eingangsstufe, Drucksache 9/4384 vom 30.3.82.

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Parent Involvement Continuum

Parents as Passive Participants	Good News Notes	Open House	Welcoming Committee	
	60 Second Phone Calls	Audiovisual Presentations	Parent Bulletin Board	
	Star of the Week	Potluck Supper	Information on Home and Weekend Activities	
	Newsletter	Father's/Mother's/Sibling's Day	Information on Community Resources	
		Spring Fling	Lending Library (Book, Toy, Record)	
		End-of-the-Year Picnic	Classroom Observations	Make and Take Workshop
		The Gym Show	Workshops on Topics of Interest to Parents	Teachable Moments
	Call-In Times		A Course for Parents	Home Worksheets
	Parent-Teacher Conferences		Parent-to-Parent Meetings	Parents Teaching in the Classroom
Parents as Active Participants	Home-School Notebooks		(Parent Leaders)	Parent Objectives in the IEP
	(Parent Leaders)	(Parent Leaders)	Parent Education	(Parent Leaders)
	Reporting Progress	Special Events		Parents Teaching
	Parents as Passive Participants	→		Parents as Active Participants